

Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-3 (1934-5) 1936 Palapikamu

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period, organization was in terms of either clan or village units. Village membership is the rule for most organization today, so that Looe village continues with Ngake and with Yato villages. It is probable that missionary effort hastened this change. Informants believed, however, that groupings of maternal or paternal clans are superior to the village grouping. The following example was given: suppose there is a man who was born in Ngake, but who affiliates and resides (wife) in Yato. In an inter-village contest he fishes for Yato. He hooks a fish. If he pulls it into his canoe, his Ngake friends are angry with him for catching a fish for a rival village, and then helping to defeat the village of his birth. If he lets the fish escape, his Yato friends are angry with him for remembering the village of his birth to the exclusion of his adopted village. Hence the man is at the mercy of conflicting loyalties, and he antagonizes friends whichever way he acts. The old maternal or paternal organization, therefore, was superior to the present village division.

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Food divisions following fishing expeditions and other games are always in terms of either maternal or paternal organization. They are arranged in advance by village elders and food distributors. Before the division of food for a fishing contest (*maloko*), the food dividers asked me how I wished the food to be divided. As I left the responsibility to them, they decided to make the division on the paternal (*paloko*) principle. The food was first divided into three equal piles for the villages; then each pile was divided among the paternal lineages of each village.

Food divisions at marriages and birth feasts were formerly always in terms of maternal clans. This is still common today, though divisions in sometimes made among the actual household groups concerned in the marriage. Food divisions of reserve lands produce are always in terms of village division. This follows the rule that control of reserves and work thereon is always maintained by village groupings.

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It is a permissible speculation to consider Palapikamu history as a struggle for dominance between these three social groupings, principally however, between the maternal and paternal lineages. At the present time, the paternal lineage is much more important in social organization than the maternal grouping. The maternal sub-lineages still influence marriage and control land, but they share these functions with the paternal lineages and with the villages. The smaller maternal lineages seem to be dying out, or at least to be more and more subsumed by the moiety groupings. Dwindling numbers could easily be remedied by recourse to adoption, but maternal lineage adoption is rare, for the reason that few wish to take the trouble to keep the maternal lineages alive. The fact that the maternal lineage memberships of the principal characters in legends and stories are not remembered suggests that even in an immediate past these groupings were not as important as the paternal groupings. At the present time, the paternal lineage is strong in its control of wealth, rank, inheritance, and succession. Both paternal and maternal lineages control food divisions and previously controlled organization for contests.

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Kennedy (1929:297), speaking of Vaitapean social structure, especially with reference to the exchange of presents at marriage and birth, sees definite evidence "of dual organization and matrilineal descent". The maternal lineage in Palapikamu also functions as a controlling unit at birth and marriage. Kennedy believes that in respect to dual organization, Vaitapea "was at a

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occurred, both of sending children (*taua munga*) and of children "cut off" (*taua haka*), either with loss or with gain in membership to the household:

In these 32 households there is a total of 48 *taua haka* and 20 *taua munga*, adopted into, or away from a household. In 5 households one child was adopted while another was lost by adoption, the balance being the same. Nine households gained one member each, 4 households gained 2 each, one household gained 3, and another gained 4 members. In 6 households one member was lost by adoption, in 5 households 2 were lost, and in 1 household 3 were lost. The average membership in 32 households after the adoptions have taken place is 6.1 persons. Had adoptions not taken place, the average membership would have been 5.9 persons. It is clear that adoptions work, however slightly, toward bringing the household composition nearer to the average membership for the total number of households.

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Informants gave patrilineal residence as the rule for marriage. Census data established the pattern, with variations due to personal choices and convenience. In order to learn whether patrilineal residence is also the rule for household groupings of kin outside the biological family, special inquiries were made in conjunction with the census. Patrilineal residence is defined as the residence in a household of persons whose membership is based on a relationship to the male head of the household, provided the household head is himself living patrilocally. Where a husband resides matrilocally, any person living in his and his wife's household, whose membership in that household is based only on relationship to the husband and who is not also related to his wife, is also taken to be living matrilocally. Adopted persons are considered as living in accord with patrilineal rule, save that where the father lives matrilocally the adopted children also live matrilocally, because they are equally related to the mother of the household. Of a total of 348 people counted under the census, 287 (82.4 percent) are living patrilocally. For the material under discussion, the households which include persons residing in accordance with patrilineal rule do not greatly outnumber those which include persons residing matrilocally. But when residence is evaluated in terms of the number of individuals, the rule as to the prevailing tendency toward patrilineal residence is made clear. Accuracy to represent the situation, table 5 should indicate individuals and not cases. With this caution, however, it will not be misinterpreted.

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Analysis of the foregoing data shows the importance of distinguishing clearly between matrilineal or patrilineal marital residence on the one hand, and matrilineal or patrilineal kin residence on the other hand. Too often these two types of residence are confused. Marital and kin residence may or may not correspond. What appears to happen in general is that, in a matrilineal society, other things being equal, marital and kin residence tend to follow the same pattern, and vice versa in a patrilineal society. However, a sufficient number of deviations occur to give the tendency in marital residence a different degree of incidence from the tendency in kin residence. This

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571 derived, first, from the importance of the bilateral kin group, which should
572 not be underestimated whether the society is patrilineal or matrilineal; second,
612 from the fact that the people who cause a formal social organization to
function are people of both and kind, heirs to any number of personal
idiosyncrasies, preferences, hates, loves and jealousies, the interrelations of
which twist formal rules to serve the logic of life. If a person wishes to
live in a particular household—for whatever reason—he does so, whatever
his kinship with the family head, and whatever the society rule. Behavior
may be labeled as deviation only after the rule has been established by analysis
of cause material. It is important to remember that marriage invariably
joins together two kinship groups in an alliance which is usually cooperative
and friendly. Once the fact of this alliance is socially recognized, the way
is open for the operation of the largest measure of personal choice in house-
hold residence, if personal factors render it impossible to live in accordance
with the pattern of the society.

ADOPTION

597 The two types of adoption in Pukapuka are complete adoption (*loko-*
697 *to eat*) and partial or feeding adoption (*uanga, to feed*). The adopting
613 parents are called *loko-*, the child *uanga*. Complete adoption usually
involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. The feeding
parents are known as *uanga* *uanga*, the child as *loko* *uanga*. Feeding
adoption usually involves change of residence, but never change of descent
line. The Pukapukan does not consider that a child receiving village food
shares under the agency of a man not his father is adopted by that man.
(See pp. 219-220.)

597 The reasons for adoption are both personal and economic. The personal
613 motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his
261 patrilineal descent line. Economic incentives include the desire of a childless
couple for the food shares that an adopted child brings into the household,
for safe beds and constant care from the child's blood group (in adoption
after infancy, a matter of arrangement) or for someone to care for them
in their old age. Frequency of adoption and residence variants are indicated
by an analysis of material collected in the household census:

597 Of the total of 221 persons of all ages included in the census, 20 (9.0 percent)
612 have at some time been adopted by the *loko* adoption. Of 20 persons of a gener-
ation below that of mother and father in the household, 12 (60.0 percent) are *loko*
597 *loko*. Of the remaining 201 persons, 12 (5.9 percent) are *uanga* *uanga* living with
their feeding parents. The percentage of *uanga* *uanga* in the total of 221 persons of
the generation below mother and father is 5.4. Of the 41 who are completely adopted
(*loko* *loko*) in this generation level, 19 have continued to reside with their blood
parents without going to live with the adopting parents.

The reason for the non-change of residence of two of the *loko* *loko* is their tender
age; they are not yet weaned. The adopting mother of one of these babies has been

845 another said the girl had cried she was too weak to stand any more and could not bear the child. Her mother and sisters were sobbing violently, and all the women had tears in their eyes. Later all cheered up, ate etc, and then the patient fell asleep.

At about 6 p.m. the patient, in great labor, crying out with real anguish, was sitting on the knees of an old man, surrounded in front by her mother and sister. The two women were pushing on her body so strenuously that when the child suddenly appeared they did not realize it. A girl among the observers cried out, "Na to!" (It's fallen!). Then everyone, men, women, and children, began screaming with a deafening uproar. Each person shouted just what should be done, but no one moved and the child lay on the ground where it had fallen. The sister jumped up and began to run to and from the house, until she realized that fresh water was the first thing needed. She ran off to a well close by on the beach (nothing had been prepared for in advance) and came back with water which the parturient's mother put in her mouth and spat out several times over the baby's head as it lay on the ground, to ensure that it would open its eyes. The sister rushed to the house and came back with a spool of thread, which was what the crowd was now screaming for. She handed the spool to a third woman near by, one of those who had been shouting loudest, but this woman refused to take it, saying she did not know what to do with it anyway. Then the sister ran back for a pair of scissors, and finally the patient's mother cut the cord and tied it with the thread. Then she picked up the baby and started off to the beach, but she was recalled by the shouts of onlookers, who told her to care for her daughter. She gave the infant to her other daughter, who sat with it on the veranda of the house. Everyone wished to know whether it was male or female, but the girl was fearful of uncovering the child, now wrapped in rags. Finally she turned the rags back, mistook the cord for a penis, and said it was a male child. Noticing the mistake, she looked a second time, and announced definitely the child was female.

Meanwhile the old man managed the new mother, and the placenta came away. The baby's grandmother helped the mother to her feet and supported her to the beach. When the grandmother stooped to pick up a comb she had dropped, the mother tottered and would have collapsed had someone else not run to her support. When she got to the beach she was washed as far up her body as her navel, was given a change of dress, and made to sit down on the beach upon a pad of coconut fiber. She commenced to hold in her breasts tightly, but was allowed to lie down on a mat and rest for a short while. She was given a drink of warm coconut liquid while the men dug a hole on the beach and buried the placenta and cord. The infant had opened its eyes and moved its hand to its mouth. It was wiped with rolled rags and then covered with a piece of rag that its mother had been using all day as a handkerchief. The sister opened a mature coconut, scraped some flesh into a cloth, which was spooned into the mouth of the child by the grandmother. Meanwhile the mother was taken inside the house. The grandmother continued to hold the baby in her arms all night, feeding it occasionally with coconut cream. Next day, the mother was sitting up, tightly clasping her breasts, while the grandmother was starting to make a mat for the baby. The child lay face downward on a pillow close beside its mother.

FEASTS AND NAMING

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[553] The birth of a child introduces a new member to the various social groups of the community. This introduction is marked by the holding of two feasts and by the naming of the child:

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612 Immediately upon the birth of the child, the bilateral kin groups of the child's parents prepare food, first for the *paahi* feast. This is a small division of talo and fish, gradually also of pig, arranged by the father for all those relatives and friends present at the birth of his child. It constitutes payment for the services of those attending the

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mother during confinement; others are included for showing interest in the family's affairs by being present at the time of delivery. If the child is the first-born (*ahahi*), the *puhi* feast is held several days later by the *ware* food division. If the *ahahi* is a male child, the division is on a bigger scale than for a first-born female. The division is held five to ten days after delivery, usually coinciding with the time that the mother is allowed to open her arms after her five nights of breast confinement. In an undistinguished family, the food division is among the bilateral kinship groups of the parents and may be referred to as a mere *teumemeyaga* (eating). For a more distinguished family, one that ranks through status or wealth, the *ware* may include a food division for every family on the island. In such families, *ware* feasts may be held to mark the arrival of subsequent children, especially the birth of a male child if the previous children in the family are female.

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The father generally chooses the child's name (*ingoa*) which he announces at the birth feast. But the mother or other interested parties may also give the child a name (*lopa* is *ingoa*) or names. The child may thus be known by several names in different groups.

The choice of a name may be determined by a desire to refer to or honor the special skill or profession (*maiva*) of the father. If the father is a skilled canoe builder, then he will name the child with reference to canoe building or parts of a canoe. The name of an ancestor, or else a reference to some incident or event associated with this ancestor may be chosen. A name may also be taken from a younger brother or sister of the father who is childless or may refer to some contemporary event or person affecting the island, a tidal wave, for example, or the presence on the island of white visitors.

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If the first child dies, the second child may be given the name of the dead child. If the first-born dies after the birth of the second child, the name of the second child may be changed to that of its deceased sibling. No idea is held of the reincarnation of the soul of the dead child in the birth of the second child. The feeling seems to be that if one thinks so highly of a name as to give it to a child then if the child dies the same reason for giving the name holds for the second child. If a man wishing to hand down to posterity his skill as a carpenter, names his child accordingly, then if this child dies, the same desire operates when he comes to name his next child, so he gives it the name of the deceased. A child may similarly be renamed for any close relative, not a sibling, who dies during its childhood. A feast was formerly held to mark the assumption of the new name, and gifts were given the recipient of the new name.

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The name or names given a child at birth remain his names throughout life. Later on, however, when a boy joins a young men's house (*ware lopa*) or a girl a girl's house (*ware teumemeyaga*), he or she is given a new name by his or her companions in the house. This name partakes of the nature of a nickname, or at least is the name used only by one small group within the community, whereas the birth name is the name whereby the individual is known to the community at large. This was well brought out when collecting genealogies.

There is no sex distinction in names, and no class of words set aside for exclusive use as personal names. According to the choice of the parents, any word or words, taken from any sphere of discourse or any context whatsoever, may be applied to a child as his name. I have not considered it necessary to present lists of personal names. As is evident from a comparison with genealogies, old Pukapukan names survive today with a tenacious persistence. Western and Biblical names rendered in Pukapukan, however, have a certain popularity. Such names as *Miti Moa* (derived from Mr. More, a missionary), *Miti Miti* (derived from Mr. Murray, a trader), *Moti Kula* (brown money, gold), *Apania* (from the English "half pound") are examples of modern names and show both an originality in naming for which the Polyynesians may well be proud and an appreciation, however shallow, for the symbols of an allegedly superior culture.